resented another as to desire to take his life. An arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment. Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed. It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a game. It should also be noted that the removal of hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punishment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

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regard for my skin, but great concern for his own also. 761
And naturally so, indeed. Knowing that I was bent on going to such a dangerous place as his mother's grave, he evidently gave notice of the fact to his relations and friends. And they forthwith prepared to meet the emergency. When we returned to the hut I found a man and several women gathered about the doorway, [783] all smiles and good will. They begged me to submit to an exorcising and purifying rite! They had bowls of water for us and asked us to wash our faces and hands. This was the purification part of the rite. While this was in progress, the women beat and brushed us down with fetishes and bunches of grass. This was to drive out any evil spirits or seeds of disease implanted within us by the deceased old woman for trespassing on her domain. That done, we were received once again among the people and allowed to enter the hut. I suppose the antidote worked all right, for neither of us seemed to get any harm from our little visit.

There was also, I found later, one other reason why 117
the Chief was so reluctant to take me to his mother's grave. A very few years before I came to Hokkaidō some people had come and secretly dug up a few Ainu skeletons from their resting places to use as specimens for scientific studies. As soon as this was known by them it caused a great uproar, for it touched them on a very tender spot. After that they were very much afraid of other like visitations, and so were particularly careful to keep the place of burial secret. It was really very wonderful that Penri should have taken me, and showed unbounded confidence in me.

In a previous chapter I mentioned finding an old 888
woman living in a little hut quite alone. I have seen 761
many such in my time here. These are built for the aged to die in, and, as soon as the inmate has passed away, are burned down. Penri's mother had her tiny hut and in it she died. It, too, was sent off in flames

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Stakes are driven round the inside to which mats are hung. The earth is then thrown in and some branches covered over it. A tub of water is always carried to the grave with which those who have taken part in the ceremony wash their hands. The bottom is afterward knocked out of the tub and thrown on the mound. The people all return to the house of the deceased when all is over, and continue the feast they began before they went off to the burying-place. When arrived there and before entering the hut they again wash their hands as a purification and are brushed down with grass by way of exorcism.

The people are very careful to have the burial ceremony correctly performed, for they fear, for one thing, that, if due care is not taken, the deceased will not have a good reception when he reaches the place his ancestors have gone to; and then, secondly, that the dead one will take vengeance upon those who have shown disrespect in this matter. A man speaking with me on this point said, "The spirits of the dead can return to people after their departure hence. They have power to come in dreams and plague the living in their sleep. They can also inflict sickness and do harm in other ways."

Some years ago a Christian woman died and was buried in a coffin and with Christian rites. She was even carried into a church. We thought that all was right and proper, but some of the older people did not like it. The change was too radical for them. They therefore made up a story to the effect that this young lady was unable to join her ancestors, and that her ghost was to be seen nightly wandering about her village, seeking for someone to go through all the rites again after the proper Ainu fashion, but, of course, without the body. This, in time and with the help of the *shamans*, took such a great effect on the relations that the wake was held over again, followed by a visit to the grave. Her ghost was not seen again after that.

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is she who does the cooking and warming, besides which she has numerous other duties to perform. She is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals.

But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Shu-koyan-mat*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it or by making them jump over it, as was the custom among some races in olden times, does not seem to have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment.

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You

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846 This private ceremony is called *Rera-oshiraye* and means, "Moving back to the hearth." And this is just what it is, for she now resumes her household duties.

271 Water is a great symbol of purification with them
● 783 and is much used. A short time ago I came across an instance of it, in which I had to participate. It was this. As I was riding along a road quite near the sea, I came to a small fishing station. Just a little way back, I saw that the Ainu had put up a small temporary lodge and that some kind of function was going on. I dismounted and went to see what it could be, for I knew all the people about the place. On coming near,
[766] I found that a young man I had known from infancy had been drowned, and the people had gathered together for a religious ceremony. Each person, as he or she drew near to the corpse, rinsed his or her mouth out and washed the hands. Having done likewise, I was escorted to the head of the dead man and asked to sit down. Upon sitting, I made my salutations to the deceased first and then to the assembly. That finished, we had a free and easy talk about the accident. When all was over I got up and departed, first once again washing out my mouth with fresh water, and then rinsing my hands. This was my purification.

846 Said I to the chief one day; "O Chief, whatever can be the matter with Mr. So and So. He looks extremely forlorn and miserable. As I was passing his house I took a peep inside, and there he was sitting by the fire wrapped up as though he were either sick or had the whole world resting upon his shoulders. He looked like misery personified. I went in and sat down for a minute or two and asked him what the trouble was, but he would not tell me."

"Ah, ha, ha," laughed the Chief. "His wife has had a baby!" "Dear, dear," replied I, "What a misfortune! And so he is miserable because another youngster has arrived, is he?"

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825 said that "if a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

825 I have never yet been able to find out what snakes
755 have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I
came across a case where the worship of a snake and
● 783 its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification.

754 But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

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224 I was in front and he behind! I actually saw him hopping along steadily after me. I therefore got behind a big tree and waited. By and by along he came, but he stopped just out of gun shot, sat up on his hind quarters, looked about, and then proceeded to wash his face with his paws exactly like a cat! After about ten minutes of waiting and looking round, he came on again along my tracks, and I got him as he was passing. I carried him home, where we jugged him, and found him fine eating. He was indeed a wily hare.

539 When I brought my hare home, my servant gave
825 me the following lore. "Formerly hares lived in heaven, but when there they were not called 'hares' but 'deer.' They were the god's own deer and they used to be killed for food. They made very choice eating. Now, the animals men call deer were divine dogs and they also dwelt in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods hunted the "hare-deer.' The old bucks and does were slow of foot and could not catch the 'hare-deer.' The fleetest and best hunters were two and three year old bucks." Having told me this, he continued thus: "The divine Aeoina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached here they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are always so thin and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skin of animals, however sweet the flesh of such creatures may be. Yet in Paradise they are very fat, because they are not hares but deer."

825 Hares are not looked upon by the Ainu with favour,
● 783 for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow near a house they must be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down, in order to prevent evil. While doing

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this, the person must say, "A hare has come to bewitch us, but with this ladle I turn his track upside down and thereby bury his soul under the snow. Therefore, although there are people living in this house, they will not now be bewitched. Let the hare himself sicken and die." 825 783

Hares are supposed to possess extraordinary magical power and to have the evil eye. 825 539

The following legend will show this. They bewitch people by looking at them, and we are told that, being of such a mean origin, they were commanded by God not to presume to look at human beings. "Hares," so runs the tale, "sometimes possess people by looking at them with their great staring eyes. But inasmuch as they are nothing more than the skins of heavenly 'hare-deer,' they are very mean creatures. God therefore gave them orders never to presume to look men straight in the face and always to treat them with due respect. This is the reason why hares, when they see people always naturally look at them either sideways or from behind. Those which look straight at a person do so on purpose to cast a spell on him. Should one find a hare doing so, he should pray very long and earnestly."

On this occasion the following legend was given me by the same man.

"When a hare has been killed, the flesh should be cut off the bones and chopped up fine. It should then be carefully measured in a water-ladle, each ladleful counted and put into a saucepan. Should there be just six measures full, all will be well; but if there be less than six, another hare must be killed, and so on till one is found which will exactly fill the ladle six times. The head should be cut off and fetishes offered to it. The following prayer should be said, when this has been done. 'We have slain thee, O hare, and so present thee with these fetishes. We are now about to

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which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

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were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield.

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin.

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight.

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are *not* offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

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each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire, by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly *'fusa!'* or *'fsa!'* as a signal of expulsion.

The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river.

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed.

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere.

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle

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(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

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755 782 824 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As performed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree [778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 783 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women [778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a [824] switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword which has been hanging there in readiness.

755 783 778 On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

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sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification.

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also.

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised,

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753 755 825 158 [778] [787] [791]

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

755 776 825

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

[777]

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

[753]

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[778] [783]

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

755 776 825 [778]

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of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in other exorcisms.

755 782 825

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

[783]

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Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet; they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One respected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 776 782

In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as Pu-epungine Kamui.

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I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

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774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[966] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

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764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 843 [184] When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 178 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting, even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

[789] [783]

764 778 [184] [532] *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

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782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
● [783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [422] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

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765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had lain.

[515] [783]

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with *'fuo!'* and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

[576] [782]

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

764 178 291 [593] 765 178 291 [302] [292]

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765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is
178 about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

60) The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*, set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
[171] The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
23 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
23 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when